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852 The public part of the ceremony begins in the early morning
756 before relatives and neighbors. The shaman may confine his own
788 part to prayer and the giving of commands to an assistant, or he may perform the ritual acts alone. The child is marked with pollen or specular iron ore, and pollen is thrown to the directions. One practitioner places four dots of pollen on the face of a boy for whom he is officiating and traces a line of pollen across the bridge
[823] of the nose of a girl. The cradle, and sometimes the child, is held to the cardinal directions, beginning with the east and proceeding in the clockwise circuit. It is the "way" of one shaman to hold up both child and cradle if the ceremony is for a boy but to gesture with the cradle only if the infant is a girl. Finally, the
[574] cradle is faced to the east, and, after three ritual feints, the child
[601] is placed inside. A feast and social occasion follow. According to one informant, a child may later address a parental or grandparental term to the person who lifted him into the cradle, even though no actual relationship exists.

854 This rite is essentially a prayer that the child be spared to
[852] occupy the cradle in the future, for it is not until a month or more
[856] has elapsed and "the neck is strong enough so that the head does not hang limply" that the child is kept continuously in the cra-
[482] dle. After that, the mother carries the cradle by a tumpline pass-
[492] ing across her chest or, more infrequently, over her forehead. Even when she travels on horseback, she often carries the cradle strung across her hip by the carrying strap and suspended over the side of the horse.

854 To the amulets and pendants supplied by the shaman the
789 mother generally adds some of her own. The right paw of the
751 badger, with grass substituted for the bone, is hung on the cradle to guard the child from fright. Such protection is important, for
[825] fright lies at the root of a number of serious illnesses. Humming-
[753] bird claws and pieces of wildcat skin also act as cradle charms. To ward off colds and other sickness, a length of cholla wood is
[824] often tied on the cradle. When anything is wrong with the child,
[755] a growth found on the creosote bush is suspended from the canopy. It is a general rule that no one may step over a child or a
[784] cradle.

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852 There is a ceremony held over a child when it just begins to walk. . . . . Men and women who know how may carry on this ceremony for the child. They get [787] the power through Child of the Water [the culture hero].[4] It is done to keep the [776] child healthy and strong, and because Child of the Water, when he started to walk, had a ceremony like this one.

[574] The family . . . . has to have a lot of meat and fruit ready. A feast is announced just like the one held at the girl's puberty rite. Many are invited. When a boy goes through this ceremony, they call him Child of the Water. When a [776] girl goes through it, they call her White Painted Woman [the mother of the culture hero]. Every child should go through it.

When my son first began to walk, he had a good ceremony. T. and Old Man D. carried it out. They had power from Child of the Water.

[292] D. directed my wife in the making of the buckskin outfit. It has to be made [531] from the skin of a black-tailed buck for a boy. In D.'s ceremony just a shirt and moccasins are made for the boy. For a girl the outfit has to be made from the skin of a black-tailed doe. Crescents and stars and crosses were the designs. The same designs are used on the girl's clothes when the ceremony is for a girl.

[821] They wait for the new or the full moon before beginning this ceremony. This time they waited for the new moon. They start just as early as they can. [431] Early in the morning many came to the place where I lived. We had plenty there for them to eat. We had presents for everyone, too—fruit and tobacco and other things. J. B. helped me with this because he wanted the ceremony held. He is a relative on my wife's side. My father-in-law brought some of these things too, and his sisters helped also. My wife's sisters helped with the cooking.

[526] They had a big hoop-and-pole game[5] going there too. P. and others who knew the ceremony well were off playing this game while they waited for the feast that was to follow.

[788] After some prayers T. marked everyone with pollen. He put some on the head and above the nose of both men and women, the way they do at the girl's puberty rite. This was done just before sunup. At sunrise he took the boy and lifted him toward the east, raising him four times. He did the same to the south and the west and the north. Then he set him down.

852 With pollen he made footprints on a piece of white buckskin just as White
788 Painted Women made them in the story of the killing of the monsters. We took
801 the boy. I was holding him on one side, and T. was on the other. We led him
[773] through these footprints. T. said a prayer about Child of the Water and his first step just as the boy took the first step. He said another prayer for the second step and went on until four prayers and four steps were over. Then the boy took four steps by himself. As he did so, they said, "May he have good fortune." Now we turned the boy clockwise and brought him back, and he walked the four steps in the same way again. Four times we walked him like this. Then we

[4] Actually the rite can be obtained through other sources as well.

[5] For a description of the game see pp. 448–50.

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took him in a clockwise circle four times. After four prayers, T. sang four songs. Then we sat down.

Next T., and after him all the others, marked that little boy just as the girl is marked in the puberty rite. After that, T. prayed, took a drum, beat it four times, and started to sing. All those who knew his songs helped with the singing. Four songs were sung before he stopped. They were about Life Giver [another name for Yusn], White Painted Woman, and Child of the Water, of how the earth was made and how the fruit grew, of how Child of the Water was born and reared under the fire and how the monsters were killed.

Now prayers were said by D., and another set of songs began. The people were dancing in there, women and men, boys and girls. They danced in place. The women uttered that call of applause[6] when the names of Child of the Water and White Painted Woman were mentioned.

There were two more sets of prayers and songs. D. said the prayers. They had me sit in the center with the boy, and they all danced around us. The boy was not bashful. He danced up and down and looked around. He was only about a year and nine months old.

D. and T. said the last set of four prayers. When the people playing the hoop-and-pole game heard about this, they all came up, for they knew we had presents there to give and that the end of the ceremony was near.

D. picked up the moccasins. He put pollen on them and lifted them to the directions. He put pollen on the boy's foot and put the right moccasin on first, then the left. "Now you can run," he said. The boy put his foot right in; he was glad to do it. Everyone said, "He's just like his father."

Finally the presents were blessed. D. and T. put pollen all over the baskets of fruit and presents, and a man began passing out these things to the people. He gave some to D. and T. first. He gave them tobacco. Then sweets were passed to the children. Then other gifts were distributed. After this was over, the big meal began. They feasted that day. That night T. lifted the boy up to the moon from the four directions so that he would grow tall.

SPRING HAIR-CUTTING CEREMONY

The spring, usually the spring following the first-moccasins ceremony, "when everything is starting to grow and the grass is coming up," is chosen as the appropriate time for a brief hair-cutting rite. The child is brought to a shaman who "knows" supernatural power useful in safeguarding and training children. The man or woman selected must have thick hair. "If a man performs this ceremony and the child grows up to be a fine one, other parents come to him."

[6] A high-pitched call of the woman, signifying reverent or ceremonial applause.

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868 by your mother, and you can learn all the time. I have to train this boy. Of course, he may not hear part of the time, but I have to tell him what he should do, what he has to go through."

868 462 All adults feel the responsibility for furnishing the child with information appropriate to his age and sex:

The boys watch the men when they are making bows and arrows; the man calls them over, and they are forced to watch him. The women, on the other hand, take the girls out and show them what plants to use for baskets, what clay for pots. And at home the women weave the baskets, sew moccasins, and tan buckskin before the girls. While they are at work, they tell the students to watch closely so that when they reach womanhood nobody can say anything about their being lazy or ignorant. They teach the girls to cook and advise them about picking berries and other fruits and gathering food.

867 554 Not much importance is attributed to distinctions of status, but there are band and local group leaders and their families who are conscious of their position and good birth:

The word [good status] includes the idea that they are better educated in the Indian way. More pains are taken with such children; they are kept out of mischief more. They should not resent things easily. They are supposed to be [578] better bred. Quarreling should be beneath them. That is why, when a man is unreasonable or insulting, they say, "Even though you are of worthless stock, you should try to hold yourself back." I hear lots of boys of good families being [521] instructed by their parents. They are told to act accordingly. I heard one girl called down by her father for gossiping. She was told that those of her family did not do this and that she was acting like a trashy person.

"These people," said another informant, "don't want their children to get in any mixup; they are jealous of the reputations of their sons and daughters." So important did training in childhood loom to this man that he added: "A leader's son never fails to make good, for he is trained and advised from boyhood up to manhood."

867 574 576 The difference in social atmosphere with which various families surround the child has been noted thus:

At our camp my father and mother used to say, "Respect whoever comes to your camp. If it is just at mealtime when they come to your camp, just tell them to sit down. Then feed them first." Most of these Indians are this way.

But there are great differences among different families. I've noticed it. A man might have visitors at his home just about mealtime. His wife might cook

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a big meal. Generally, she would serve the visitor first, even if the visitor was a woman. After the visitors had gone, the man might get after his wife and ask her, "Why should you feed those people first? Why didn't you feed me first?"

If a visitor happens to hear of this, he will say, "I'm sorry I went over there. I didn't know that man was like that. I won't go over there any more."

The child must early be made sensible of certain dangers and must learn to be quiet at a command. Enemies often lurk perilously near, and the encampments may suffer severe loss before help can be summoned. Often a child's first memories have to do with threats concerning a dread and shadowy being who preys upon noisy or disobedient children. "The word *gode* is enough. They don't try to describe him. The children become afraid of the word."

Another sound which the child learns to respect is the call of the poorwill. This bird is known by the same name as the masked dancers, for it is thought that the call of the poorwill resembles the traditional call of the dancer as he approaches and "worships" the fire.

When I was a boy, there was a bird that sang only at night. We were told that its song was the voice of the clown of the masked dancers who took bad children. We were pretty quiet and well behaved when we heard that song at night. I realize now that the song is pretty, but when I was a child it frightened me and I disliked it.

This masked-dancer clown, or Gray One, is one of the terrors of childhood. "The clown is going to put you in a basket and carry you off somewhere. Say this to a little child and he is going to mind right away."

The threat of the clown is maintained as long as possible to keep the children out of the way of prowling enemies and predatory animals. When warnings of the clown's arrival lose their efficacy, Gray One himself may "appear."

Suppose now that children are playing out there and won't mind at all. All right! The parents will say, "Let's scare those children."

They go way around through the woods somewhere. Maybe a big fat man goes out there with them, and they put white paint on him. They make him look like the clown. Well, he goes over to the other side of the place where those children are playing in the brush. He takes a little switch or a stick along with him. Then, when he is about twenty yeards away, he shows his face, and one of

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[604] position of stepmother to these youngsters.[11] Her very closeness
[587] to her sister, the fact that these girls have played and worked to-
[595] gether since childhood, establishes her interest in the develop-
ment of her sister's children. The chances are that she will per-
[431] form protective ceremonies for them, that she will give them
[574] food and presents, that they will be frequent visitors in her home,
and that she will offer them economic assistance in times of need.

[881] At the puberty rite of her sister's daughter, she will give gen-
erously of her labor and provisions. When her niece is about to
[584] marry, she will doubtless act as one of the group of relatives who
passes on the desirability of the union; she will help erect the
dwelling to which the husband will be brought; and she may
[583] furnish household necessities. When her nephew marries, her
household will contribute to the gifts to be presented to his
[868] bride's relatives. The degree to which she participates in the in-
struction of her sister's children will vary with her own proficien-
cy. If she knows a great deal about the medicinal value of plants,
it is quite likely that she will transmit that information to her
sister's daughter as well as to her own girls.

[591] Somewhat different are the relations between the child and the
mother's brother, for he resides with the extended domestic
family only until he marries. If he is considerably younger than
the mother, he may be around during the entire childhood of the
individual; if he is older or near her age, he may depart while the
[574] child is yet very young. But even after he leaves the encamp-
ment through marriage, he frequently visits his parental home.
[596] At first, to his wife's relatives, he is a stranger and an unproved
[602] acquisition. He is bound to many of them by obligations of
avoidance, restraint, and economic assistance, but the warmer
[851] bonds of kinship and prolonged common residence are lacking.
Therefore, until he has children of his own and his status among
his wife's relatives is established, he is likely to keep in closest
touch with his own blood kin. There is a good deal of restraint

[601] [11] When a woman marries her deceased sister's husband or becomes her sister's co-wife, the stepmother term may be used as a self-reciprocal between her sister's children and herself, or the mother's sister term may be continued. The first is the more common practice.

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not possible for them to practice total avoidance, considered the ultimate in respect and reserve. The possibility of complete avoidance does exist for cousins of opposite sex, however, since they are of different households. One man who was asked how he would demonstrate his respect for his female cousin answered, "A boy shows his respect for a girl cousin by not visiting her."

From this conception of cousin relations it is not a great jump to total avoidance, and we find that some persons, though by no means all, do practice such avoidance. This is the only instance in which a true blood relative is avoided, though the married man responds to one of the most inclusive lists of affinal avoidances on record.

Avoidance of cousins of opposite sex "starts when they are old enough to understand such things, when they have grown to maturity, and lasts all their lives."

Šilah who are cousins, not sister and brother, sometimes hide from each other. R. hides from J.; they are cousins. They cannot see each other at all. It wouldn't be done between sister and brother, or between two boy cousins or two girl cousins. Cousins do it because they love each other very much and wish to show their respect. After they start it, they are very careful what they say about each other, for their relation is one of respect, like that of a man to his mother-in-law.

J. and S. are cousins. They have hidden from each other all their lives. When cousins do this, they give presents to each other in the beginning, and after that they help each other all the time. They hide from each other from that time on just as a man hides from his mother-in-law. Either the man or the woman can start it. You can't hide from a sister or an aunt. It is only between cousins of opposite sex that this is done, not between two men or two women. You cannot arrange with a cousin to use the polite form only;[14] it must be hiding or nothing. Of course, if you must speak to your cousin who hides from you, you might stand behind a tree, and then you would use polite form in talking to her. K. and Mrs. C. were cousins who hid from each other too.

I had a cousin. Just because she liked me, she wanted me to do it. I had been away to school. When I got back, she gave me a saddle and bridle. Then she asked me to hide from her. I said, "No." I told her I had been to school, that I didn't want to go the old way, that maybe the government would get after me if I did. So she said, "All right." This was about 1897.

[14] For an explanation of polite form see pp. 171–81.

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cigarette was rolled by an old man or woman. This was done so the person could reach the age of the one who rolled it. The old person prayed and lit it for him."

Age brings prestige, if it is ever to come to an individual. The band leaders are chosen from the most forceful heads of local groups; local group leaders are the most authoritative voices of extended families. Few men who have not lived long enough to rear a large family and to see their daughters marry well head extended families. With his children and grandchildren around him and sons-in-law to do his bidding, a man may establish important alliances and gain political and economic stature. That older persons figure so prominently in the ceremonial and political life is significant for the grandparent-grandchild relations.

The rule of matrilocal residence permits constant contact between the child and his mother's parents. These kin are usually the oldest and, while they retain their vigor, the most respected members of the extended family. The family is the realization of the line they have founded. Their daughters and unmarried sons owe them obedience and deference, and their sons-in-law are bound and subordinated to them by strict social and economic rules.

The maternal grandparents concern themselves in countless ways with the child's development. They are constantly consulted by their daughter on problems of child-rearing. They are present at the first ceremonies held for the baby and contribute whatever is needed for these occasions. It is often one of these grandparents who acts as the cradle-maker and shaman of the cradle ceremony. They may suggest a first name for their grandchild. Their home is always open to him, and it is not unusual for him to sleep there. If his mother dies and his father leaves the extended family because it cannot offer him a suitable mate, the maternal grandparents are likely to rear the child.

My father was left an orphan at about six years of age and was brought up by his grandparent. It was his mother's father who took care of him. This man lived in Chiricahua country. My father lived there with him until he was twelve or fifteen years old. He was with the old man all the time. When he told about it in after years, he said he often wondered why this old man took such an interest in him. He often wondered if he was worth it, worth having so much attention

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The girl feels good toward the man who sings for her too. She gives him presents now and then. She has to give the man a horse and saddle at the end of the ceremony. Usually he gets a good buckskin and blankets too. The father of one of the girls who recently went through her ceremony had only one good horse, but he had to give it to the singer. It's that gray one that B. [the singer] rides now. He had to do it according to the Indian way. 881 793 533 [431]

For the girl, her relatives, and a few serious-minded individuals the ceremonial aspects of the occasion will be of most significance. But for most of the guests the feasting, the social dancing, and the performance of the masked dancers will be the greatest attractions. 881 [574]

The masked dancers are men dressed and decorated to represent mountain-dwelling supernaturals. The dancers themselves possess no power and no ceremony. But the one who "makes" them, who fashions the masks they wear and paints or directs the painting of their bodies, is a shaman who controls a most important ceremony. The primary purpose of the masked-dancer rite when it is not associated with the celebration for the adolescent girl is to ward off epidemic and evil or to cure illness that has been contracted. When it is so used, its performance is a most serious matter. However, these same masked dancers have become one of the standard sources of entertainment of the girl's puberty rite. Early each evening they appear, and, while they may bless the camp initially, drive away evil, or even perform some cures privately on request, their main function is to engage in several spectacular dances for the noisy approval of the onlookers. 881 535 [776] [532] [756] [751] [755] [789] [789] [755]

The girl's relatives must secure the co-operation of a masked-dancer shaman: 881 756

A month or more before the ceremony the ones who are giving the feast start thinking about the man they are going to get to paint the masked dancers. They say, "Let's ask the old man." 535 574

One of them goes to the old man and says, "I'm giving a feast and want you to work for us. I don't want you to refuse." If the old man promises, it is all settled. The relatives of the girl will begin talking to him, perhaps it will be her uncles or aunts.

I've seen it done this way, too. Suppose there are a lot of camps together. A man whose girl is going to have her ceremony would come out and say, "All you people, listen! I'm going to give a feast for all you people. I need your help. I want all you men who know the ceremony of the masked dancers and you men

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881 who know songs to help. I'm paying for your good time. I'm having plenty to
756 eat for all of you. I'm a poor man, but still I'm doing this. Let's all help and
535 have a good time."
574 Then anyone who knew the ceremony of the masked dancers and felt like it could paint dancers for him. Afterward he might ask more definitely to be sure he'd have somebody. He would go to a man and say, "You know the ceremony of the masked dancers; you help me this time."

If no one comes up to my father to ask him to do it, he won't do it. I have seen him just let it go. He can see more at the feast grounds, have his meals like anyone else, and have a better time than he can spending his time at his camp painting dancers. I think that many times it looks as though the old man doesn't want to do it. But these feast-makers ask in such a way that he can't refuse. Sometimes he goes away, and when he comes back there is someone waiting for him, begging him to help.

When they asked him to do it, my father used to complain. He said, "Those people ask me to paint masked dancers. But they don't help me out with the equipment. They don't know how much work it is doing this for four days. It's tiring. They don't help as they should." Then the people who were giving the feast had to scurry around and get equipment if my father was short of things. They sometimes had to ask other people for buckskin and things that were needed.

There was S. He said to my father, "I want you to help me out; paint those masked dancers for me." His girl was going to be White Painted Woman [that is, was going to have the puberty rite performed for her]. Then my father said, "All right, but you must do your part. You must feed my dancers. It is hard work. You must feed them in the morning, at noon, and at night." S. said he would do it.

So my father went out. He tried to get the right men to dance for him. He came to me. I didn't want to do it. He asked another man, a good dancer, and he said "No" this time. Then the feast people had to help out. My father went back to them and said, "I'm willing to help, but I can't get enough good dancers." He referred the whole thing back to them.

Then they came to me and pleaded with me. "We'll give you a whole side of the ribs and your wife can get all the food she wants down at the place where we are cooking for the crowd." And they offered me something else valuable, too.

Some of them come up in a pitiful way and say, "I'm a poor fellow. This feast is for everybody. You can dance better than anyone else." So you have to sympathize with them sometimes. If they just have to have you and it looks as though you are not going to do it, they call you "brother" even though you're no relation to them. They say, "Don't refuse!"

The relatives have been watching those painters of masked dancers. They notice who makes good designs and turns out the best dancers. The dancing is just to make the celebration lively though. The masked dancers do not affect the health of the girl by their dancing.

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88 776 [539] White Painted Woman said, "From here on we will have the girl's puberty rite. When the girls first menstruate, you shall have a feast. There shall be songs for these girls. During this feast the masked dancers shall dance in front. After that there shall be round dancing and face-to-face dancing."

Other information, however, emphasizes the importance of the culture hero for this ceremony. "They do this ceremony according to the way Child of the Water directed them," said one spokesman; and another asserted that the culture hero "is the founder of this whole thing."

The pubescent girl herself is identified with White Painted Woman. During the four days and nights of the rite and for four days thereafter the girl must be addressed and referred to only as White Painted Woman. Her dress and decoration are meant to duplicate the costume which the benefactress of the tribe wore during her stay on earth. The very name, White Painted Woman, is symbolic of the body paint with which its first bearer was designed. At one point in the ritual the initiate is painted with white clay so that the promise of her name may be actualized. Throughout the songs and the prayers the girl is likened to her divine namesake; the structure that has been erected is described as "the home of White Painted Woman"; and, as an informant has put it, "the young girl is the image of the real one." This may explain the control over the weather and the curative functions of the adolescent at this period.

[302] [386] [882] [789] [755]

The "little" rite.—The physiological fact of first menstruation is cause for great rejoicing on the part of the family of the girl and is so important that reference is made to it by a different term from the one which means "regular monthly flow." Even though all is not in readiness for the prolonged ritual and celebration, the family and close neighbors gather for a feast and token ceremony, to be followed at a later date by the complete round of ritual.

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They had a little ceremony for E. It was held at her parents' place. Quite a few people came down. There was a feast and social dancing. The girl was called White Painted Woman for the day of the little ceremony. The ceremony for the girl, who is about fourteen years old, came about noon. She was dressed in an uncolored buckskin costume without much design on it. I don't think it is finished yet. Mrs. S. acted as "she who trots them off" [the attendant] for her. W. sang.

[793]

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About noon Mrs. S. came out, bringing a buckskin. A little later the girl came out. She came directly to the buckskin, and Mrs. S. put her down and rubbed her. Then Mrs. S. made four tracks with pollen on the buckskin. W. sang and led her through the four steps, one song for each step. Then the basket with the bag of pollen and an eagle feather in it was put to the east. She ran around it clockwise and returned to her place. She did this four times. Each time the basket was brought nearer. As she came in the last time, tobacco, fruits, and other presents were thrown into the air just as soon as she got back on the buckskin. [431]

Then she marked W. with pollen, marked him across the nose. He marked her the same way. Next she marked the women and children and they marked her. She marked them across the bridge of the nose also. Then the men came. She marked them on the side of the face. After that she picked up the buckskin and shook it to the directions, beginning with the east. Then more presents were given out. [431]

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The procedure just described is a much-reduced version of the full rite. The order of events is altered to compress the activities of many days into the hours of one morning, but the incidents enumerated offer a good inventory of the significant elements.

Final preparation and the beginning of the rite.—The ceremony is usually held outside the permanent encampments at a level spot in a clearing selected by the family sponsoring the event. Some days before the exercises are to start (often four days for ceremonial emphasis) the girl's family repairs to the grounds to get everything in readiness. [801]

One of the first acts is to erect the "cook shack," a long, rectangular, leafy shelter to the south of the place where the principal ceremonial structure will stand. [343]

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Meanwhile news of the approaching ritual has spread. Members of the local group to which the girl's family belongs and visitors from near-by local groups of the same band gather. If the ceremony is well advertised and the site is near the dividing-line between bands, persons from these neighboring bands may attend. This is a ceremony at which all members of the tribe feel welcome:

All the Indians enjoy the feast—poor and rich, the able-bodied and the lame and blind. This feast has been handed down for many, many years. . . . . All the singing is supposed to work out the future life for the girl in order . . . . that she have long life. The songs bring good luck. The ceremony works good luck for everyone that takes part in it and good luck for the old people during the time of the ceremony, also good luck for the spectators. They sing and pray for all. [777]

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The visitors build temporary camps to the south, west, and north of the space reserved for the ceremonial tepee. A long lane to the east must be left unobstructed.

At the beginning of the ceremony, custody of the girl will pass into the hands of the attendant and the singer. But before this the girl is reminded by her parents of the seriousness of her role and is advised to be obedient and cheerful. However, these ideals are not always attained.

> Some of the girls are bashful. They have a time with them! They had a time with them in the old days too; I've heard stories about it. Some girls had to be whipped before they'd go through with it. Some of them got scolded before everyone. . . . . They talk to her, tell her to be good, but the girl gets mean sometimes.

The exact manner of deciding when the ceremony shall begin is subject to some variation. According to one account, the proper starting-point should fall four days after the onset of menstruation. Most informants agree that the rite may begin "when everything is ready." Some see a tendency for the group in charge to set the time for fall, "when food is plentiful," although theoretically the ceremony may occur any time of the year.

Before sunrise of the first day the girl washes her hair in yucca-root suds. Then she presents herself before the attendant, either at a special shelter erected for her care or at the home of the older woman.

The attendant first puts pollen on the girl's head and face and across the bridge of her nose before anything starts the first morning. Then the woman prays over her that she may advance to good womanhood. From then on her womanhood begins. No man is allowed to go in there at this time.

Then the woman arranges the girl's hair and dresses her, beginning with the right moccasin, then the left, and continuing up to the head. She ties two eagle feathers at the back of the girl's head. The girl always faces the sunrise while this is being done. The woman prays for the girl while she is dressing her, and some even sing if they have songs and the girl wants them sung. The men do not say much about this dressing. This is the woman's part, and men are not supposed to say much about it. When the girl is all dressed, it is all right for a man to see her. After the dressing you have to call the girl "White Painted Woman."

The girl must not eat anything up to now. Then, the first day, when the girl

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881 993 198 White Painted Woman, Sun, or turquoise, she will utter this call.[4]

881 346 533 [539] During a second "dwelling song" the poles are lowered until their tips meet:

> The home of the long-life dwelling ceremony
> Is the home of White Painted Woman,
> Of long life the home of White Painted Woman is made,
> For Killer of Enemies has made it so,
> Killer of Enemies has made it so.

881 346 574 Quickly, when the tops of the four poles meet, the rope hanging from the east pole is wound around the others, and the framework is secure. Now the women come from the community kitchen, bearing receptacles filled with mesquite beans, boiled meat, mescal, yucca fruit, and other food. They set these in an [788] [823] east-west line before the entrance, and, after pollen crosses have been sprinkled over the top of each by the singer, everyone gathers to eat. The conspicuous display of food is symbolic of [261] plenty and of the favor of the supernaturals: "Child of the Water told the Apache to carry food into the ceremonial dwelling, to grab at it, play with it, and eat it. That's why we do it; it is his command."

881 346 [533] After the meal the ceremonial structure is quickly finished. The central fire pit is dug to the accompaniment of more songs. The oak boughs are tied horizontally to the poles, but an opening is left to the east. Women bring to the entrance spruce needles for the floor, and these are arranged by the singer and his helpers. The ceremonial home of White Painted Woman is now ready.[5]

[4] While it is the primary responsibility of the attendant to call thus, other women may join her: "Women, when White Painted Woman, turquoise, or sacred things are mentioned, have the right to make that call. This is true of any ceremony, not just the puberty ceremony. Also they can give that cry when the masked dancers approach, when they just begin to trot in from the east and the jingle of their pendants is heard. Any mature woman can do it, but old women do it mostly. They do it because of the religious feeling they have toward the Mountain People."

[184] [5] The Mescalero Apache, with whom the Chiricahua now share a reservation, use four main poles of spruce and eight others—twelve in all—for the ceremonial structure. They also build the tepee with a runway of eight smaller spruces, four on either side, stretching eastward from the doorway. The Mescalero and Chiri-

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During these events, women of the adolescent girl's family have brought baskets of fruit and nuts to the rear of the hide upon which she has stood. They throw these presents upon the hide, and a scramble ensues. Thus the cycle which began when the pollen footprints were drawn has been completed symbolically; the fruits have followed the pollen and the season of growth. In the good-natured din and confusion the girl and her attendant retire. The girl has custody of the singer's rattle until evening. It is noon before this opening ritual is concluded, and more food is now distributed.

The afternoon is devoted to social activities—dancing in the open space to the east of the ceremonial structure, singing, racing, and visiting. Men gather at the hoop-and-pole ground, while the women play the stave game. The girl's parents move about among their guests, and grateful visitors seek them out to comment upon their hospitality and "to say they are thankful that this daughter has grown up to have the ceremony." "The feast-givers are shown respect, and all obey them. Nobody ever breaks this rule."

Ordinarily, the girl's ritual obligations are over until evening, but she may be requested to treat the very young during the day:

> The Chiricahua believe that it is good luck for a child or a baby if a girl who is White Painted Woman lifts it up. At any time during the ceremony the girl can take a very young child, pick it up under the arms, and hold it to the directions. This is done to give the child long life and good luck.

She also helps the infirm:

> If your arm is crooked, go to the girl at the time of the ceremony. She can work it and make it straight. She picks up children by the neck too. It is good for them. They tell me to let one of the girls work on me. [This man has a crippled arm.] I go there, but there are lots of people in there, and I back out every time.

In the late afternoon of the first day the adolescent girl or the singer, using a fire drill, lights a fire in the ceremonial structure. This fire is to be kept alive during the course of the ritual or, at least, during the nights. Sometime in the afternoon a great pile of firewood is stacked to the north side of the ceremonial structure. This will be used for the fire around which the masked dancers will perform.

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535 533 [782] [539] uttered recitation which separates the choruses can be freely translated as follows for one of these songs:

Inside the holy home
At the place called "Home in the Turning Rock,"
The Mountain Spirits, truly holy,
Rejoice over me to the four directions
And make sounds over me.

The words of another of these songs show a forceful and vivid imagery:

[539]

In the middle of the Holy Mountain,
In the middle of its body, stands a hut,
Brush-built, for the Black Mountain Spirit.
White lightning flashes in these moccasins;
White lightning streaks in angular path;
I am the lightning flashing and streaking!
This headdress lives; the noise of its pendants
Sounds and is heard!
My song shall encircle these dancers!

[574] [264] When the body-painting is finished, the dancers eat the generous meal provided for them by the feast-makers. It is nearly dusk now, and soon the great fire will be kindled below and the people will gather to see the entrance of the masked dancers.

[756] [782] While the shaman chants another set of four songs, the dancers line up in a row facing the east, headdresses in hand, praying and asking to be blessed. Of one of these songs the informant said:

I'm going to sing an old song. It's very valuable. It is sung when the masked dancers are standing there, painted, dancing in place, and ready to go out, shaking their headdresses. This song is called "Earth's Song." It is sung very slowly.

[539]

Thus speaks earth's thunder:
Because of it there is good about you,
Because of it your body is well:
Thus speaks earth's thunder.

535 [198] As these songs are sung, the impersonators gyrate clockwise, uttering their call at the mention of the Mountain Spirits and motioning with their headdresses to the directions. The buckskin masks have been moistened so that they will be pliable. At [532] [788] the conclusion of the singing, the dancers, including the clown if

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881 533 Another morning song purports to be a passage between a man and a woman who is endeavoring to hide her age so that she may have a good time:

[539]

They tell me you are old:
I, I don't think so.

Then there are the lines depicting the confusion of two young friends who cannot bring themselves to separate:

[539]

Woman from a far land,
Give me your moccasins that I may be going.
Man from a far land,
Give me your moccasins that I may be going.

At dawn those who have remained up all night disperse for a few hours of rest. There will be no morning ceremony to rouse them, for the puberty rite proper of the second day is not resumed until nightfall.

881 [574] [525] [535] *Events through the fourth night.*—During the morning and afternoon of the second day visiting, feasting, gambling, and sporadic social dancing take place. The girl has no special duties during the day, although she must be mindful of her general restrictions. If she becomes restless, she may be permitted to walk toward the hills or to join in the daytime social dancing for short intervals.

At dusk the events of the preceding evening are repeated without significant variation. The central fire is renewed, the masked dancers appear, the pubescent girl is led to the ceremonial structure, and later in the evening the same social dances, in identical order, are again performed.

In outline the third day and third night differ in no essential way from the second day and night. The activities of the fourth day, moreover, follow closely those of the second and third days.

But the fourth night of the ceremony departs in several important respects from what has gone before. The first events are the familiar ones. At dusk the masked dancers appear and repeat their performance. And, as before, when the masked-dancer display is at its height, the singer leads the girl to the ceremonial

[533] [793]

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save about four good masked dancers, keep them fresh. These go around for about an hour and chase all the people out to dance. They even chase them from their camps and get them out of bed. They bring out the girls and make them dance. The masked dancers do not push the people toward the dance grounds with their hands. They just make the noise and motion with their sticks. They get a girl and give their cry and bring her out. I have gone after them this way. Toward morning even the girl for whom the feast is given can be brought out to dance. 881 535

The restriction against speaking lapses for the masked dancers at this time: 881 535 784

The masked dancer asks a girl, "Who shall I get for you to dance with?" The girl says, "That man by the fire." So the dancer goes over there and pulls that fellow. The man never pulls back. He has to go and dance.

The relaxation of the masked dancer's semisacred role goes even further:

The last night the masked dancer can dance with any girl if she chooses him, and this girl has to be paid. But the feast-maker has to pay her for him. The masked dancer has been helping him all night, so of his own accord the feast-giver walks out there and pays the girl. I have seen that happen many times.

Every man has to compensate his partner at the close of the dancing: 881 535 465

One time everyone was paying but one man. He had nothing with him, but he must have had some horses over at his camp. This man walked around there and picked up a dry ball of horse dung. He walked back to the place where the other men were paying the women. He went to the girl he had danced with and right before the crowd he handed her the horse dung. Even in those days very few knew the meaning of this. Horses were very scarce then, and it was pretty hard to part with a horse and give it to anybody.

The girl receiving the horse dung didn't know the meaning of it. She took it home to her people, to her camp. She told her father and mother, "This is all I got!"

Her father was an old man and knew what it meant. He told her right away, "That's more than the other people got over there. That means a horse; that man means he is going to give you a horse." Sure enough, that came true.

Upon the givers of the feast falls the responsibility of seeing that all participants are satisfied with their rewards: "If a girl is not paid and the boy runs away, she can go to the ones giving the ceremony or to someone in authority there and protest. This has been done." As a final gesture of appreciation toward 881 504 [518] [465]

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881 As a final gesture of appreciation toward
524 those who have helped make the social aspect of their ceremony
535 a success, the hosts "give a personal present to the women who
431 dance until sunup."

Conclusion.—The final events of the rite should take place in
881 the sun's rays and, if the sunrise is obscured by clouds, the people
533 wait patiently for the emergence of the first beams. As the east-
539 ern skies become lighter, twelve songs, familiarly known as
[821] "stop" songs, close another chapter of the ceremony. One of the last of these, heralding the appearance of the sun, simply repeats over and over:

> The sun, emerging,
> Says to me, "My grandchild."

The last of this series is a graceful apotheosis of the life-journey upon which the adolescent girl has embarked:

> You have started out on the good earth;
> You have started out with good moccasins;
> With moccasin strings of the rainbow, you have started out;
> With moccasin strings of the sun's rays, you have started out;
> In the midst of plenty you have started out.

Now the girl faces the east, kneeling on the hide. The space to the east of the ceremonial structure is cleared of all loiterers:

> They won't let anyone, even a dog, go across between the sun and the ceremonial structure on the last morning. They say that anyone who does this will get sick and die. I believe it. T.'s daughter didn't think and went across once just as the sun was coming up. She died soon afterward.

881 The sticks which have been erected around the fire pit during the singing are gathered up in clockwise direction, tied in a bundle, and deposited in the coiled basket tray containing the other ceremonial objects.

881 The singer faces the east with the basket before him and sings
533 four songs. Everything is taken out of the basket except white
793 clay. Then the singer faces the girl and puts pollen first on his
[788] own face and head and then on her head. Meanwhile the attendant has mixed water with the white clay in the basket. After
[302] another song, the singer paints a line of white and red on the girl's face. Again he turns to the east. He hands his rattle to a man who comes forward to assist him.

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881 533 793 When no more come, he returns to the girl, removes the eagle feather from the improvised paint brush, and extends the tip toward her. She grasps this, arises, and follows him as he walks backward, shaking his rattle and singing. Before they reach the front of the ceremonial structure, he has paused four times and sung two songs "about walking along the place of many fruit trees."

Meanwhile the attendant has replaced the ritual objects in the basket. She lays down a buckskin, head to the east, and places the laden basket before it. When the singer and the girl pause at the hide, the eagle feather is added to the tray's contents.

[574] No sooner have the singer and the adolescent left the ceremonial structure than containers of food are brought and placed [788] in a straight line extending east of the fire pit. The singer marks each food receptacle with a pollen cross, and the people eat.

881 346 After the meal the men begin to dismantle the ceremonial structure, stripping the oak boughs from the sides and leaving the framework, the four main poles, standing alone.

881 533 793 788 A "trail" of pollen and specular iron ore is now prepared for the girl. Working from west to east, the singer outlines four footprints on the skin, the first in specular iron ore, the second in pollen, the third in specular iron ore again, and the fourth in pollen. Slowly, as her guide sings, the girl leads with her right foot and walks along this ceremonial path. At the end of the fourth verse and fourth step she stands at the head of the hide. Children, old people, and the infirm then walk along this same path.

Now the attendant takes the basket tray and, as was done the first morning of the rite, places it twenty-five or thirty paces to the east. At a word from the singer, the adolescent runs to the basket, circles it clockwise, and returns to the starting-place. The call of the attendant is heard as she runs. After the run the basket is moved westward. For two more runs an identical procedure is followed, but on the fourth and last run, the girl completely circles the basket, bends low to pick up the feather from it, and trots east once more to some designated point. She circles it clockwise and heads westward once again.

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834 183 156 you'd better put them on again," he told her, "or some of these men here will see your bare feet and get excited and go for you." His wife only laughed. She's used to that kind of talk. She's much younger than he is. She sticks to him because he's good support, I guess.

834 183 156 593 A second offender, a woman, was also adversely discussed:

That woman is a regular bulldog. She has a dirty mouth. She is awful, that woman! Everybody knows her. She will knock her husband about twenty feet, kick him, and call him dirty names. He doesn't do anything or say anything. He is very mild and doesn't stick up for himself. If you curse him, he will just laugh. Some do not like this about him.

One time my wife and I were visiting. There were about fifteen people present. This couple was there. My wife noticed earlier in the day that the woman was angry. When she saw her come in, she told me to go, because she knew that the woman would use all sorts of bad language. So I got out pretty quick. Later I asked my wife what the woman had done. She had backed her husband against the wall and given him an awful talking to right before all the people. She mentioned how big his privates were and everything.

834 183 Yet, despite these cases, the avowed canons of good taste generally prevail.

834 183 562 Concepts of courtship and sexual behavior are influenced by a manly ideal which slightly subordinates women and penalizes men for any open attention to them:

The Chiricahua men and women regard each other differently from the way the white people do. A man has a more honorary position than a woman. It looks to me as if the women try to serve the men and expect to do so. They show the men a little extra respect. That is why they let the men walk down the road ahead of them.

[574] [764] At a feast, such as a marriage feast, there is a special place for the men. The food is taken out and served to the men first. But there is no special place for the women. The women crowd around and eat what they can get and sit anywhere they can. But the women expect this. They do not think they are abused because of it. They would resent any other kind of treatment. If visitors come, they are served first, but the men visitors are served first of all. It looks as if men do not like to be thought of as coming under the influence of women.

[574] [829] We Chiricahua say, "Look at those white men! They go with their wives all the time. It looks as if they never get tired of them." We brag of the way we do, for we don't like to take our wives along. We have a better time when we are alone. Some of the fellows get together and talk and have fun for hours. We don't have such a good time if the women are around. The men might go to a social dance with their wives, but as soon as they get to the place they leave their wives and go with the men.

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Residence with or near his affinities is almost imperative for the man, for obviously it would be an insupportable burden for him to maintain a distant encampment of his own and still provide liberally for his wife's parents. Moreover, his identification with these affinal relatives is not without its reciprocal benefits. 591 606

At marriage a man goes to the camp of the girl's parents to live. We do this because a woman is more valuable than a man. We do it to accommodate the woman. The son-in-law is considered a son and as one of the family. The in-laws depend a great deal on him. They depend on him for hunting and all kinds of work. He is almost a slave to them. Everything he gets on the hunt goes to them. In return he has privileges with the property of his wife's people. He can get anything they have very easily. It is understood that he can call on them for aid. This relationship dates from the time of consent to the marriage. [562]

Sometimes the arrival of the groom is the signal for a celebration at the encampment of the bride to which relatives and friends of the couple are invited. The expense and labor are borne by the woman's relatives, although the man's kin, if they live close by, may assist. The program is the usual one of games, feasting, and social dancing. The festivities continue through a day and late into the night. 585 574

After marriage the face of the world is changed for the young man: he removes to another residence, he becomes drawn into the orbit of a new economic constellation, and he becomes subject to the edicts and desires of new masters. 585

THE MAN AND HIS WIFE'S RELATIVES

Primary avoidances and the avoidance behavior pattern.—The regular terms for various affinal relatives are all forms of one verb—the verb "to carry a burden." There have been recent extensions of the meaning of this root, but in the older sense the burden to which reference is made seems to have been the proceeds of the hunt: 601 192 601 192 224

I can say to anyone, "I will bring in [carry in] deer for you," using this word. Friends have said this to me because I do not hunt much. I say to them, using the same word, "Yes, bring in the game for me." This does not imply any relationship between us necessarily. On the other hand, when it comes to marriage, we speak of one who marries into our family as "one who carries things in for me" in the sense of "one who goes out and kills and carries in game for me." The word means to me that in the old days a son-in-law would go out and kill game [606]

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command and announces where and when the ceremony is to take place. He is free to enlist the help of the sufferer's relatives and he may direct them to build a special shelter with the door facing the east or to gather paraphernalia and plants.

. Many shamans, as a part of the ceremony, impose restrictions upon those who wish to watch the proceedings:

> Some shamans don't allow barefooted people around when they are working, but not all are like this. Some don't allow you to scratch if you want to stay, but not all are like this either. Some tell you that you can't sleep while the ceremony is in progress. When we came to Geronimo's ceremonies he would warn us not to scratch or we would get a choking sensation then and there.

It is usually the close relatives, affinities, and good friends of the patient who are present. If the shaman is known for his dramatic performance, persons particularly attracted to religious spectacles also seek entrance. The shaman decides who may attend. Often fear of impiety or of witchcraft is a selective factor.

The ceremony ordinarily lasts four days, and the events open to the public take place on four consecutive nights, starting after dark and continuing until midnight. These are not inflexible rules, however. Food—often an abundant feast—is provided by the patient's relatives at the conclusion of each night's performance.

Every shaman has paraphernalia of his own which he uses in his rite. Many of these ritual objects have a logical association with the power source.

> Usually, when a person gets power through some animal, he has four tokens of the animal with which he works—perhaps the hide, claws, tail, and paw. If his power is from lightning, lightning-struck twigs may be there. If the power comes from a bird, perhaps the tail feathers of that bird will have a place in the ceremony.

There are a number of ritual objects which appear in almost every ceremony:

> A shaman has pollen, paints, herbs, and a drum. Eagle feathers are usually used. Some wear a cap or a vest of buckskin when they sing. Some have a tray basket at their ceremonies with pollen, paint, and eagle feathers in it.

Pollen, the symbol of life and renewal, is omnipresent on ritual occasions. Tule pollen is used most, but the power may request

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It is possible that all these alcoholic beverages were inspired by the customs of Mexican Indians and the Spanish-speaking peoples to the south, as is suggested in this recipe for a sotol drink: 273 177

There is a story that the Mexicans were making a drink out of sotol. I don't know whether the Indians used to make it or not, but I guess they did because I used to hear the old men say that it makes a good drink. To make it, roast the crown of sotol in an underground oven just as mescal is roasted for food. Then mash it up. Squeeze the juice out. Let the juice stand, sometimes in a hide in the ground, until it ferments. If the weather is warm, it does not take more than a day after it is standing. Then strain it, and it is ready to use.

In much the same way a drink is made from fermented mescal juice: 273

Roast the mescal in a pit just as if you were going to eat it. Pull off the outer leaves and cut the soft inner part into small pieces. Pound them, put the pounded mescal in a hide, and bury the hide in the ground. Cover this and let it ferment for two days. Then take it out and squeeze it by hand and mix the juice with some water. It will bubble for a day or two, and then it is ready. It gets strong.

The drink from mesquite beans is no more difficult to prepare:

The women know how to make a drink out of mesquite beans by boiling them, draining off the water when they are soft, mashing the beans, and letting the material stand and ferment.

The favorite drink, however, is tiswin, or "gray water," a weak corn beer. The maize used in its manufacture was obtained by trade or theft from Mexican Indians, Pueblo Indians, and white settlers before reservation days. Tiswin is considered the most nourishing of the beverages and is often spoken of as a food, because its mild stimulation when taken in moderate quantities has helped many a person withstand the rigors of travel and want. "Many used tiswin for food in the old days. Many even gave it to children when they didn't have anything else to feed them." Tiswin is also considered the appropriate beverage to serve during any social occasion. [439] [648] [262] [574]

To make tiswin the woman takes mature corn and shells it. She wants it good and dry to start with. She soaks it in water all night. In the morning she puts grass in a long trench, puts the corn kernels on top of this, and lays another layer of grass over it. On top of this she may throw some dirt, or she may just put a

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586 of the wife and her relatives. Wealth may even decide the issue;
[556] where the relatives of the wife are poor and the man and his kin have greater resources, the husband may take a child with him at the dissolution of the marriage.

[589] The divorced man returns to his parental home or stays with
[587] some close relative. Unless he is well along in years, he soon marries again.

589 The chief loser in a divorce action is the woman. For at least
587 part of her sustenance she is now once more dependent on her
[602] own relatives, who, too, have lost economic assistance. Because she is now an experienced woman with a record of marital difficulties, it is unlikely that a new husband will offer presents to her parents. Should she fail to be married again soon, her reputation
[578] suffers. The word meaning "single woman who has been married before" (divorcée, widow) has an unsavory connotation. "This word would only be used to a single woman who was married before, and never to one who is single in the sense that she has
[558] not married at all yet. The word is more or less of an insult, and a person would not use it to a woman whom he respects."

589 Because unmarried girls are carefully guarded, the promiscuous women are usually divorcées and widows who have failed to remarry. From them the community and their kin do not exact the same high standards of conduct demanded of the unmarried
[504] girls: "At a drinking party there might be a young divorced woman, but it is very unlikely that any unmarried girl would
[848] attend. Young men attend though." Divorced women are thought more likely to have illegitimate children than the unmarried: "After a first marriage a woman might have children out of wedlock, but that kind of woman is not liked."

587 Marriage can be more easily contracted with a divorced
583 woman than with a maiden. The waiving of marriage gifts has already been noted. Less pressure upon relatives and less per-
[584] suasiveness are required in arranging such a match. The celebration of a military victory or the social dance of a puberty rite may even be the occasion for a very informal union with a divorced woman:

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The only other times a man will call the name of another to his face are when he is drunk or angry; a man in his right senses won't do it. But if a person is angry with another, he drops all reserve and calls the other's name freely, telling him what he thinks of him. You have to be careful about this, for it means a fight. 551 576 578

It is considered very impolite to call a man's name to his face. You might call his name when he is not present, but we think it impolite to call the name of a person who is with you. Not long ago I was by the roadside with a young fellow. An old man was riding past. This young fellow forgot himself and called the rider by name. The old man paid no attention and rode on. The young fellow felt pretty much ashamed.

An occasion when the name was purposely used to start a quarrel was described:

This boy came toward me, calling to me and using my name. "You think you're smart!" he told me. He used my name a lot. He did it with emphasis. Then we started to fight.

Very early the next morning, before I was out of bed, he came over. He had come to tell me that he was sorry for what he had done. He used my name this time too. This was a special occasion; that's why.

The proper use of the name is a potent factor in obtaining a favorable response to a request: 551 574 576 757

One time my wife and I wanted some medicine to keep. We were collecting lots of roots. We had a sack of them. We didn't know how the leaves of one particular plant looked, so we couldn't collect any. My wife heard that an old lady had this kind we wanted, and she asked me to go and get some.

I didn't want to do it, for I knew this plant was valuable to the old lady. She was a ceremonial woman and used some in her ceremony. But my wife kept bothering me until I went to the old lady's home. First I visited with her for a few minutes. You have to act just so to the old people. When I got there, she began to talk about things, about the weather. When you call on a person you haven't visited before, you are treated extra fine, for that person knows you want some favor.

I didn't want to ask her for it. I guess she thought I needed help. People come to her because of sickness. Finally, she asked me what I wanted. I started to say I didn't come for anything special, and then I had to say it; so I called her by name and said, "So-and-so, I am gathering some plants, just out of curiosity. I have some of my own, but I hear you have a plant used in a certain sickness. If you care to, I wish you would give me a sample of it."

I used the language that brings results. She gave me a handful of it. This medicine is for tuberculosis. It is called "narrow medicine" [*Peretia wrightii*]. [137]

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551 574 576 757 When she gave it to me, she told me not to use it, for I didn't know the ceremony and would get into trouble.

Later on she met my wife. She told my wife that ordinarily she would not have given me that medicine, that it is very valuable and she doesn't give it away. But I had come like a gentleman. I knew the old customs and how to call her name. I wasn't like so many of the younger people. I had respect for the old customs, and so she gave it to me. Since then I have been pretty good friends with that old woman.

551 To avoid using names, teknonymy, nicknames, and age terms are resorted to in referring to individuals:

You often hear a person spoken of as the father of So-and-so, the mother of So-and-so. The reason for doing this is that it is an easy way to get around calling a person's name, especially before the person or his relatives. A younger person is spoken of through his older relatives too.

I don't know whether I have a nickname. A person's nickname will never be called before him. H. is known as "He Who Wears Glasses." If I say this, everyone knows who I mean. It is a good way of getting out of calling the real name. But though everyone uses it, I doubt that H. even knows about it, and he probably never will.

J. is called "Mexican." Everyone uses this. But he doesn't know it and probably would not like it. But this is not said for meanness. Even some who use polite form to him call him this.

"Old man" is not used like the English "Mr." We never would say "old man" and then add a man's Chiricahua name. The word refers to age or is used so that the name of a person can be avoided. A man goes to a camp looking for another man. He has to let the people there know what he wants. So he says to the wife or whoever is around, "Where is the old man?" They know who he means then, for he's looking for the man of the family.

Lots of people come around looking for my father-in-law. They don't call him by name, for it is very impolite to call a man by his name just for nothing. So they ask for "the old man." Of course, they might mean me if I were absent. My wife would have to take a chance in answering. She could guess pretty well by who it is. If it's someone I know well or go around with, she would know he was looking for me.

201 576 Persons or objects may be indicated by pointing:

If a man asks where another is, the person spoken to is more likely to point with the lips than with the hand. Now old people come in the store and point to objects on the shelves with their lips. Pointing with the hands is really for emphasis and is not considered polite. It should be done only in anger, when you might say, "That man over there!" and point.

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A gesture of mock-seriousness is often seen:

If a person wants to give you a good talking to or wants to emphasize what he is saying, but is just joking, he puts his arms akimbo as he talks. If he pushes the joke too far, you also put your arms akimbo to indicate this. But then you are in earnest and not joking. 201 576

One fellow is always joking with me. When he sees me, even at a distance, he will put his arms akimbo as he comes toward me. Then when we meet he will begin to tell me just what he thinks of me. I kid back at him. I say, "Get that arm down!" and try to knock it down.

If a person is giving you a good talking to or a lot of unwelcome advice, you might say, "All right, go ahead and talk!" and you put your arms akimbo to show that the advice means nothing to you. Or if a person whose opinion you hold to be of little worth suddenly begins to give you advice, you show your surprise that he should talk that way to you by putting your arms akimbo. Then it means, "You've got your nerve!"

If a person takes this posture unconsciously, it is said that he is putting on airs or thinks himself great. This position is taken in imitation of someone who thinks too well of himself.

An informant described how amazement would be shown: 201 152

One time I met C. on the street. "Well," he said, "what's the news?" "There is no news," I told him. "As long as you fellows are satisfied under the government, there is no news. We ought to be free." C. clapped his hand over his mouth.

This story explains when the hand is put over the mouth. I know what C. was thinking. He was thinking, "Oh, what a speech!" It is a sign of amazement used when someone has done the unexpected and has taken you off your feet.

Another time several of us went to sheep camp. We were standing there with our sheep herder. Finally we started to go away. The sheep herder came after us and asked me, "Did you bring me any tobacco?" C. was supposed to take care of this, so I turned to him and asked, "Did you remember the smokes for Chapo?" He clapped his hand to his mouth and held it there a couple of minutes. What he meant was, "By golly, I forgot it!" This illustrates another use of the hand over the mouth.

There is a definite etiquette of visiting:

Suppose somebody is coming to my camp. When he is about fifteen feet away from the door, he clears his throat or coughs loudly to attract attention and let me know he is coming. If I am there with my wife and children, I say, "Here I am. Come in." And when the man sits down politely, the children are already in order. Of a person who walks right in without coughing, we say, "He is not polite." 574 576

Guests usually sit near the door when they come in, although there is no particular place for a visitor to sit. There are many people in there, so they sit

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574 near the door most often because it is the most convenient and unoccupied place.
576 If there is a bed along one side of the home, a visitor doesn't sit there unless he is called and told to.

When you have a visitor, you have to be very careful of how you act. In passing in and out of the house, a person must not touch or press against another person, especially against visitors and strangers. The visitor, in turn, must not let the one who is passing touch him or press against him. To leave your home when you have company is considered very impolite. If you have to leave, you say, "I am going to walk there by you."

574 Great politeness is exercised in personal matters between visi-
576 tors and host:

514 Suppose there are a number of people in my home. We are all interested in some conversation. I'm telling stories or something like that. Perhaps one of the visitors wants to go out and relieve himself. He has to excuse himself. They will know where he is going if he just walks off. So he says, "I have to go out and tend to that horse," or, "I've got my horse hobbled at the foot of the hill over there and I want to chase him toward the water. He hasn't had water all day." Sometimes he hasn't even got a horse there. And another fellow sitting there says, "I have to see about my horse too." And he goes off. Or a person will say, "Well, I have to tend to something!" just as if he suddenly remembered something.

The women make excuses too. They say, "Where have my little ones gone? I'll have to see where they are." That's the way I was taught when I was a child, to make some good excuse.

When two men know each other well, though, if the wife and children are not at home, one will just say to the other, "I am going out."

201 When visitors are speaking—and, indeed, when any serious
576 discussion is taking place—it is a mark of good manners to indicate attention and interest by murmurs of approval and interjections of encouragement:

If someone is talking in a social gathering or telling a story, to show that you are interested and are a very polished person, you keep saying, "*he, he,*" at intervals. Or you might say "*do'a,*" which is just like saying, "Indeed!" or "Yes, yes, go on!" Women say it slower, "*doya,*" and in a higher-pitched voice. You hear the old people use it all the time.

During a speech by someone, to show that you approve, you nod your head and break in on him, as whites would with applause, saying, "*ao, ao*" [the affirmative expletive] or "Um, um."

HUMOR

522
201 When friends are together, teasing and bantering take place. Misleading or exaggerated statements are followed by a wink "to

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522 who was telling a group about his ability as a leader was interrupted by a hearer who, deliberately pretending to have misunderstood, remarked, "Yes, we all know you can shake your head pretty hard!"

Another story that points to the quality of the humor is an account of nonchalance under trying circumstances. An old man on horseback was attempting to pass a knot of his friends with some show of dignity. Just then his horse bucked, threw him, and ran ahead. Instead of waiting for the mirth of the beholders, the man pulled out his tweezers the moment he hit the ground and with great unconcern began plucking his whiskers.

PARTIES, DANCES, AND STORY-TELLING

273 504 The preparation of tiswin is almost always followed by a party to which friends and neighbors of both sexes are invited, for the beer is made in relatively large quantities and sours if it is not used at once.

My first tiswin party came when I was about fourteen years old. It was during the summer. A woman who was noted for the good tiswin she made told me to tell my grandmother to come over that afternoon, for she had some tiswin. She invited me too. I went right over to my grandmother and told her. I went with her and attended that party. It was just a social occasion. I drank a lot and got to feeling good. I was not used to it, but I didn't get sick. It lasted about two hours.

[576] They sit around and tell stories at these parties, laughing and talking. A man with a bad temper could not get in. It is considered very impolite to come in to a party without an invitation, but some get around this. They hate to miss it and find some excuse for coming there. One cup is kept going. The woman who gives the party does the dishing-out. A boy of about fourteen can attend. Usually a girl has to be a little older. After this I attended tiswin parties whenever I could.

273 504 533 535 Social dancing and singing sometimes add to the pleasures of a tiswin party. Even the women, when a certain point of gaiety is reached, may elect to act as singers, though this is not their customary role:

One time Mrs. S. and C.'s wife sang social dance songs. The men were all played out. One got the drum and the other helped her. In the old days the Chiricahua woman sometimes sang songs and used the drum too. They used to do it for the round dance. They would get around in a bunch and sing and drum.

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It is not an easy task to learn these stories. You have to be patient when the stories are being told. You have to listen very closely. You have to sit up at night when it's very cold, no telling how long, sometimes all night. When a funny story comes along, everybody is laughing. And at all other times you have to listen very closely and be quiet. As much as I have sat up and listened to the stories, I have to be reminded of some of them in order to get it correctly the way I first heard it. 538

When Coyote stories are being told, there is generally a big crowd present. The older people, before they told the Coyote stories, would say, "When you tell these stories, they make you very sleepy." When you get sleepy, they wake you up. They shake you or they tickle your nose with grass. I've been treated that way. But, if someone just can't keep awake, they let him go to sleep.

Both old men and old women could tell the stories. It would be like this. Some of these stories are very funny, and many times the boys of about fourteen years of age would get together and go to some old man's home and say, "Tell us Coyote stories."

But the Apache is very careful not to embarrass someone before whom he is ashamed, even when he is telling Coyote stories. If he comes to one of the stories that would embarrass anyone, he says, "I want to tell you, in case people who are ashamed before each other are here, that I am going to tell some very funny stories now." Of course, not every man will do this; it depends on the individual. A man like C. doesn't care what he says. But I remember that most people would be very careful at such times. Once my father was telling stories. My brothers were there, and my sister and my wife and some other women. Pretty soon he came to one of these stories. One by one we men went out and went into a shack next door. You probably noticed that just now I told my son-in-law to go into the tent next door, build himself a fire, and stay there. I just don't want him to hear me tell stories like that.[3]

When interested people, young or old, visit him to hear his rendition of the myths and tales, it is an opportunity for the narrator to display his hospitality as well as his abilities. He seldom allows his guests to leave without offering them food: [574]

One time at Fort Sill seven of us boys came to N. About ten o'clock he said, "Make coffee for these boys. I don't know how long they'll stay. We'll have lunch about midnight." So we stayed and had a big lunch. That's what they used to do a long time ago, he said. N. knew the old ways. We stayed until three or four in the morning listening to old stories.

[3] No father-in-law avoidance is practiced in this case. Though the informant is a Chiricahua, his son-in-law is a Lipan. The Lipan do not practice avoidance of affinal relatives. [606] [184] [602]

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POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND STATUS

619

ALL members of the tribe, despite minor differences which exist between the bands, are aware of the linguistic and cultural bonds which identify them as one people and which distinguish them from other groups of the region:

> In customs, speech, beliefs, and manner of dress we people over the other way [west of the Rio Grande] in Chiricahua country are very much alike. There may be slight differences in speech. [It is doubtful that these ever went deeper than some variations in vocabulary.] But we could always understand one another thoroughly. The fundamental things—beliefs and ceremonies—are the same. By these people I mean the Southern Chiricahua, the Central Chiricahua, and the Eastern Chiricahua.

This tribal tie is expressed in a number of ways. The three [574] bands remain at peace with one another. Visiting between members of different bands, especially near the peripheries of the band territories, is a frequent occurrence. Individuals of one band are always ready to attend the puberty rite of the daughter of a member of another band. The social dance songs, with their repeated references to a woman or a man "from a far country," are [582] further evidence of intercommunication. Marriages between members of different bands grow out of these social contacts. Quite often persons whose lives would be forfeit in their own band territory find a refuge in another district.

619 648 The right of members of one band to pass freely through the territory of another band was not challenged until the Americans became interested in controlling the activities of the Chiricahua:

> We [the Eastern Chiricahua] were on friendly terms with the towns around us and we were causing no trouble there. But the Central Chiricahua and the Southern Chiricahua came around. They used to bring in horses stolen from the south, and they got us into trouble.
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> Some of our leading men said, "There are too many Southern Chiricahua and Central Chiricahua here. They are bringing in horses. They will get us into trouble." But our leader, Victorio, wouldn't do anything about it. He said, "These people are not bothering us."
>
> Then a bunch of them came with some horses from the south. There were